

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 306050
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DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:JETHYDEN:AEE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 306050

NODIS

STADIS FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT SEOUL 10821 SENT ACTION SECSTATE DEC 23.

QUOTE S E C R E T SEOUL 10821

NODIS/STADIS

FOR EA GLEYSTEN FROM SNEIDER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, KS, US

SUBJECT: TONGSUN PARK AFFAIR

1. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM ANOTHER DIFFICULT SESSION WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND IT IS INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THERE IS LITTLE IF NO GIVE LEFT ON THE KOREAN SIDE. FONMIN HAD BEEN THROUGH A RUGGED SESSION WITH TOP GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP WHO REVIEWED AND ACCEPTED JOINT STATEMENT AND MPAA WITH ONE EXCEPTION, CLEARLY NOT BEFORE GIVING HIM A TOUGH OUTING.

2. KOREANS KNOW THAT THEY HAVE ACCEPTED VERY DISTINCT

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RISKS, BOTH IN POSSIBILITY OF CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY BY TONGSUN PARK AND MAJOR LOOPHOLES ON OUR COMMITMENT TO RETURN HIM TO KOREA. THEY HAVE ALSO ACCEPTED ONEROUS TASK OF DELIVERING TONGSUN PARK TO US, ALTHOUGH WISHING TO DO THIS WITH MINIMUM OF OVERT PRESSURE SHOWING PUBLICLY. THESE HAVE BEEN TOUGH PILLS FOR ROKS TO SWALLOW, BUT THEY HAVE DONE SO.

3. OVER PAST WEEK IT HAS ALSO BEEN EVIDENT THAT KOREANS ARE INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED BY WHAT THEY VIEW AS A CONTINUING EFFORT ON OUR PART TO RAISE THE ANTE. FOR EXAMPLE, TONGSUN PARK LETTER WAS INITIALLY TO CONSIST OF SIMPLE ASSURANCE HE WOULD GO TO U.S.; THEN WE ADDED CONDITION OF TRUTHFUL TESTIMONY AND AGREEMENT TO POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION; FINALLY YESTERDAY WE ADDED AGREEMENT TO COOPERATE ON BASIS JOINT STATEMENT AND MPAA. AGAIN, AFTER GIVING ADDITIONAL COMMITMENT THAT WE WOULD NOT INTERROGATE PARK ON KOREAN OFFICIALS, ETC., WE ADDED POSITION WHICH TO KOREANS OPENS WAY FOR QUESTIONING ON RELATIONSHIP TO PRESIDENTPARK -- FROM THE BEGINNING A CLEAR IMPOSSIBILITY FOR ROKG.

4. NEGOTIATIONS WITH HUNDLEY AND MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING HAVE FROM KOREAN VIEWPOINT ALSO IMPOSED ADDITIONAL UNFORESEEN COMPLICATION NOT RAISED BY US IN FIRST STAGES OF NEGOTIATIONS. AS YOU MUST REALIZE, KOREANS ARE FULLY AWARE

OF ALL PARK/HUNDLEY CONVERSATIONS AND HOW PARK/HUNDLEY ARE TRYING TO PLAY OFF HUNDLEY'S NEGOTIATIONS AGAINST OFFICIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

5. I HAVE ARGUED VIGOROUSLY AND ENDLESSLY AS HAS BILL CLARK TO GET OUR FULL POSITION ACCEPTED. I AM CONVINCED THAT THERE IS NO SYMPATHY HERE FOR TONGSUN PARK, AND PARTICULARLY HIS SECRET

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TAX AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS, AND EVERY DESIRE TO COMPLETE SUCCESSFULLY REPEAT SUCCESSFULLY THSE NEGOITATIONS BY THE END OF THE YEAR. BUT, I THINK IT IS ABOUT TIME WE GAVE THE KOREANS A LITTLE BIT OF ROOM AND ACCEPT POSSIBLY A FEW RISKS ON OUR SIDE, ALTHOUGH I THINK THEY ARE ESSENTIALLY MINIMAL COMPARED TO THOSE ACCEPTED BY THE KOREANS. IN THE END WE WILL HAVE FULL CONTROL OF TONGSUN PARK ONCE HE COMES TO THE U.S. AND THE KOREANS RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THIS FACT, WHATEVER THE RISKS MAY BE FOR THEM.

6. WITH THESE VIEWS IN MIND, I HAVE TWO RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH I TRUST WILL BRING THIS AFFAIR TO A CLOSE FOR THE PRESENT:

A. WE AGREE TO AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN MYSELF AND TONGSUN PARK RATHER THAN SEEKING AREVISION OF HIS LETTER AND IN THAT LETTER SPECIFY ONLY HIS AGREEMENT TO COOPERATE WITHIN THE TERMS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT AND THE MPAA, WITHOUT GOING INTO SUCH DETAILS AS TRUTHFUL TESTIMONY AND POLYGRAPH EXAMINATION WHICH ARE ESSENTIALLY REPETITIVE AND UNNECESSARY.

B. THAT WE ACCEPT PROPOSED DELETION IN PARA EIGHT OF THE

MPAA, RECOGNIZING FULL WELL THAT THE INTERROGATION PROCESS
ITSELF MAY LAP OVER INTO QUESTIONS ON KOREAN OFFICIALS
"CONCERNING OR OCCURRING IN THE PRESENCE OF U.S. OFFICIALS."

7. I TRUST THAT YOU CAN CONVINCE THE OTHERS INVOLVED THAT
NEITHER OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS INVOLVES ANY SACRIFICE
IN THE BASIC SUBSTANCE OF OUR POSITION AND THEY WILL NOT ONLY
FACILITATE AN EARLY AGREEMENT BUT ALSO HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF
ASSURING CONTINUED KOREAN COOPERATION IN THE FINAL CON-
CLUSION OF THE TONGSUN PARK AFFAIR.
SNEIDER UNQUOTE VANCE

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